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VIZ.,

*A REVIEW OF LORD BUTE'S TRANSLATION OF
THE "REFORMED ROMAN BREVIARY;"*

REMARKS ON THAT REVIEW, BY THE
REV. JAMES McSWINEY, S.J.;

A REPLY TO MR. McSWINEY'S REMARKS, BY
G. OSBORN, D.D.

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LORD BUTE'S TRANSLATION OF THE REFORMED ROMAN BREVIARY.*

THIS is a publication which would be remarkable for its size and shape, if on no other grounds ; each page contains two columns, and hundreds of the pages are in small, though neat and clear type, which may give some idea of the labour bestowed in preparing it, even after deducting, as we must, the large number of pages which are necessarily the same in both volumes ; thus .3082 less by 312 leaves 2770 of unrepeatd matter to be provided by the author, which if printed in the customary style might reach to nearly ten thousand pages.

But before proceeding to examine the book it may be proper to say something as to its specific nature. The Romish Service Books are of several kinds, and differ from one another in regard to their contents, the persons by whom, and the places

* *The Roman Breviary ; Reformed by Order of the Holy Œcumenical Council of Trent ; Published by order of Pope St. Pius V. ; and Revised by Clement VIII. and Urban VIII. : together with the Offices since granted.* Translated out of Latin into English by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. 2 Vols., pp. 1522, 1560. London, 1879.

where they are to be used. A Missal provides forms for the celebration of the Mass, parts of which are invariably the same, while other parts change daily. The Ritual is for the use of the Clergy in the administration of other sacraments. The Pontifical contains such offices as only Bishops or Popes may use. Gradual, Antiphonal, and Processional will be naturally interpreted of the musical and other adjuncts of solemn worship which the Church uses so freely, and often with so much effect. But the Breviary differs from all these. It is not designed for any particular sacrament or ceremony, nor for any particular order of the clergy, and not *necessarily* for public congregational use at all. But it is a book of devotion and instruction for the daily use of all the clergy. The regulations concerning the use of it are both strict and binding. Whoever enjoys any ecclesiastical revenue, all monks and nuns in any of the regular orders, all Sub-Deacons, Deacons, and Priests, are bound to recite in public or in private the whole daily service, and that under pain of mortal sin. They are not even allowed to omit a single day, though they may read together two or more of the seven or eight portions into which each day's office is divided. "The Priest and his book" are therefore necessarily close companions, and in our busy days the reading is often done in places which the compilers little dreamed of: in the social circle, on shipboard, in waiting-rooms and railway carriages it goes on, until the allotted task is accomplished, when the reader

may sleep in peace. The choirs of churches and the chapels of the so-called Religious Houses are however supposed to be constantly made vocal with the strains of devotion here supplied. The Psalmist's resolution to praise God seven times a day is the (supposed) Scriptural authority and guide for this arrangement. An "office," consisting of psalms, hymns, anthems, lessons, responses, and benedictions, is provided for Matins, Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline.* Day and night are thus supposed to be occupied with devotion. Many recognise the obligation of rising at midnight to praise God, as the Psalmist speaks; and without assigning a precise hour, it is held by all that the first four services, together with any mass or masses which may be celebrated, must be concluded before noon, and the remaining three offices before midnight. The idea of ceaseless devotion thus embodied has great charms for the imagination of not a few, as the poet who afterwards yielded to the fascination witnesses:

"Oh that thy creed were sound!

For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
By thy unwearied watch, and varied round
Of service, in thy Saviour's holy home."

In like manner his friend and associate, Keble, declares it to be the chief design of *The Christian*

* In the Excerptions of Egbert, Archbishop of York in 750, seven offices are distinctly enjoined to be used, and that with care and reverence. A copy of such offices in Anglo-Saxon may be seen in the Appendix to *Hickes' Controversial Discourses, Vol. I.*

Year to exhibit the "soothing tendency" of the Book of Common Prayer, although its services are much less full and elaborate than those of the Breviary. Both these great masters of persuasion knew the value of devotion as a means of education; both learned their lesson from the same teacher; and both have given fatal effect to their convictions, in turning multitudes from the pure faith of the Gospel.

But the Breviary is not all devotion. It provides the mental food of vast numbers of persons, and seeks to form the character of the clergy by the teaching it imparts. The entire book of Psalms is to be gone through every week; and select portions of Scripture, expositions by ancient writers, and biographies of saints and martyrs, whose names and labours it commemorates, complete the design of this truly wonderful book, which now for the first time appears entire in an English dress.

The fact is significant. Taken together with many other things, it betokens a great increase of courage and confidence in the English Romanists, and a determination to avail themselves to the utmost of the liberty they enjoy. Ever since the days of James II. there have been translations of the Vespers or Evening office both for Sundays and week-days. Then some of the offices of the saints were published with the appropriate hymns; then the Mass-book in several forms was added to the number of Manuals of Private Devotion which "the

faithful" were encouraged to use. The formation and progress of Bible Societies led to considerable controversy both as to the liberty of reading the Scriptures, and the extent to which the Romish laity availed themselves of it, one happy result of which has been the issue of improved and cheaper editions of the Douay Bible and Rhemish Testament, from which many of the original notes have disappeared. And now we have two thick volumes of one thousand five hundred pages each, published with the view "of laying open to the English reader the whole of the prayers of the Church," and this in the hope that the undertaking "may be grateful to a considerable number of English-speaking Catholics who would wish, at any rate at times, to read the service of the Church, but are debarred from doing so by ignorance of the Latin language; and more especially so to converts who have been accustomed to the daily office while Anglicans." (Preface, p. 1.)

What follows is still more surprising: "Even to some of the clergy, he (the translator) is not without hope that this version may be of some interest, since he has taken great pains to elucidate difficult passages, to explain the historical and other allusions, and above all to verify the references to the Holy Scriptures."

Such an attempt on the part of a layman is unprecedented in this country; and, so far as we know, in any other. The fact of an English nobleman of high rank in the peerage giving nine years of diligent study and labour to such objects

and uses shows that the days of ignorance and blind submission on the part of the laity, if not already over, are drawing fast to a close ; and that the conflict with Rome is not likely to become less severe in the future. We should have been still more surprised at so bold and extensive an enterprise on the part of a layman had we not learned from the preface that Lord Bute has had the constant help and supervision of a learned Jesuit ; and that this help has been rendered with the consent of the Superiors of that body, to whom, as well as to the father himself, his thanks are presented.

And if English Romanism in the nineteenth century, as represented by these two large and costly volumes, challenges our attention by their very appearance, much more by their contents. We notice particularly the great care taken to verify Scripture quotations, to mark the variations of the Vulgate from the original Hebrew, and to gather elucidations from various sources, including Lowth, Gesenius, Dr. Pusey, Olshausen, and Dr. Etheridge, and not least, if last, the Catholic Annotated Bible of the late Archbishop Kenrick, of New York, which Lord Bute speaks of as "a most valuable work, unhappily but little known in this country." Still further breaking away from former custom, his lordship regards himself as "abundantly justified in using any good English at his command, while adhering to the sense of the Latin" ; and informs us that in the recently published *Hortus Animæ*,

which bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning, some of the Psalms were translated direct from the Hebrew, without any regard to the Latin at all!

Another noticeable feature connected with those portions of Scripture which appear in the Breviary as lessons for the day is, that the editor repeatedly recommends his readers not to be content with the lesson given. Students of the English Prayer-Book will remember the objection taken to the fragmentary character of the Romish lessons; and it is pleasant to see a Romanist agreeing with them in effect, as when, after giving half of Revelation ii., we find in a note, "The reader would do well to read the messages to the other four Churches"; and after a given part of Acts xxv., "The reader is strongly recommended to read the appearance of St. Paul before Festus and Agrippa and the journey of the Apostle to Rome"; and again, after a part of Hebrews xi., "The reader is vehemently urged to finish reading this sublime chapter for himself." (Vol. I. pp. 497, 487, 327.) When it is remembered that in many cases the Breviary has been practically the Bible of its readers, these exhortations are not a little significant.

Nor are the Scripture-lessons the only lessons which have been carefully studied by the editor. Appended to various passages we find such notes as, "St. Jerome seems to have been misinformed"; "Apparently an anachronism"; "St. Gregory seems to have been misled." "The dates seem uncertain." "After this comes a passage which I omit, as it

relates to a reading of the Gospel of St. John, used by S. Chrysostom, but rejected by the present Greek and Latin texts." "Probably miscopied into the text of S. John Chrysostom's New Testament." And again most remarkably : "The description in the Latin is a sort of oratorical paraphrase of the account in the Pentateuch, which I have thought it best to represent by two simple quotations." These are, however, small matters in comparison of the instances in which Lord Bute has felt himself compelled either to contradict the Breviary, or to intimate his opinion that it is not entitled to be believed. The freedom of his strictures is astonishing to those who remember that the book was published by a Pope who is also a canonized saint, and revised by two other Popes successively; moreover, that the parts which have been added since the last reviser died have all had express sanction of one Pope or another, and some of more than one. Thus (vol. I. p. 250) we are told that the history of Constantine's conversion there given is now rejected by all writers, and the whole account of the saint would probably receive considerable modification at any future revision of the Breviary. "The two (Bishop Urban and Pope Urban) have got confused together." (P. 1075.) "The identity of this Flavia Domitilla has got confused. See *Alban Butler, and the Bollandists; also Gibbon.*" In vol. II. p. 1089, we have the wonderful story of the horse which, having been ridden as a quiet one by the owner's wife, and then lent to Pope John I.,

became so restive and violent as to be always throwing off his mistress, "as though he were not content to carry the lady, after having carried the Vicar of Jesus Christ." So the owner was fain to make a present of him to the Pope. Lord Bute annotates this passage as follows: "There may be some doubt whether the present form of the legend of St. John I. will survive the next revision of the Breviary; however, these marvels are taken from St. Gregory's Dialogues."

We may well admire also the freedom with which our Translator treats a question of great moment to believers in the doctrine of the Apostolic succession. The Breviary contains commemorations—first of St. Cletus in company with St. Marcellinus (April 26th), and then of St. Anacleto (July 13th). Under the latter date he writes: "There are strong grounds for believing that this Anacleto and the Cletus of April 26th are both the same as the Cletus named in the Canon of the Mass, and that the real name was neither Cletus nor Anacletus, but Anencletus." (Vol. II. p. 1159.) Under April 26th: "A cloud hangs over both these names. Strong arguments are brought forward to show that both Cletus and Anacletus are a single real Anencletus mentioned in the Canon of the Mass under the name of Cletus, as the successor of Linus. As for Marcellinus, the extraordinary history of him given in the text is now universally, or almost universally, acknowledged as a fiction." (II. p. 1049.)

With equal freedom we find him contradicting

what the Breviary says concerning St. Dominick as the Inventor of the Rosary. The lesson for the first Sunday in October affirms this ; and adds, "That this same Dominick was the founder and prime mover thereof hath been said by Popes in divers letters of the Apostolic See." Whether it was so or not, Lord Bute says, "is quite uncertain," a poor compliment to the writers of Apostolic letters, certainly. But here his lordship is corroborated by Alban Butler, to whom, indeed, he often has recourse where occasion arises to hint a fault, or ventilate a suspicion, or record a denial. That most painstaking biographer of the saints renders him valuable help in unsettling the common belief as to S. Dionysius upon the lesson for his feast. That represents him as having been the convert of St. Paul at Athens, Bishop of Paris, and the writer of several marvellous books, who, after he had been beheaded, walked two thousand paces, carrying his head in his hand. The note is as follows : "See *Alban Butler*, from whom it will appear, among other things, that the St. Deny honoured on this day flourished and suffered as Bishop of Paris about the end of the third century. His identification with the person mentioned in Acts xvii. 34, and the ascription to either of the writings called after that person, are rejected by most writers." (Vol. II. p. 1311.)

A similar reference to the same authority, modifying the account of St. Bridget, occurs on the previous day, October 8th. But these are as nothing

in comparison of what we find under August 15th, a feast of the most solemn character and highest obligation, entitled, "The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary." On this title the Marquis annotates as follows: "Literally, God's *taking* the blessed virgin to *Himself*, i.e., by death (from the Latin *assumo*, I take to myself). There is a common tradition that her resurrection took place in about forty hours, like our Lord's, and that both soul and body are now where He is; but such tradition must be carefully distinguished from matters of faith.—See *Alban Butler*, August 15th."

The boldness of this criticism of the work of three Popes is perhaps equalled, if not exceeded, by one sentence. In the office for St. Katharine's Day, November 25th, there is a prayer in which Almighty God is told that He had marvellously caused the body of this blessed virgin and martyr to be laid by His holy angels on the top of Mount Sinai. But the Marquis does not scruple to annotate as follows: "Alban Butler says that by this are to be understood monks, as wearers of the 'angelical' habit." (II. p. 1370.)

It is somewhat disappointing to find that after these repeated intimations of the questionable, or perhaps we should say unquestionable, character of many of the Breviary Legends, the greater number are allowed to pass unchallenged, and we must therefore suppose them to be devoutly believed. The fable of the Virgin's having been taken up into heaven is by no means out of harmony with the

strain in which Romanists for centuries have written concerning her ; but why those who hesitate at believing it, and absolutely reject the fable of St. Denys, should believe in the other wonders concerning less important persons, which are here recorded by the score, we cannot imagine. Nor can we account for the fact upon any other principle than that fascination which the Church of Rome exercises upon her disciples, and from which none, even of the most gifted, can wholly escape.

Here is a learned, accomplished, wealthy nobleman, one not absorbed in research or contemplation, or retired from the ordinary pursuits of men, but accustomed to the transaction of business and competent to it, putting into circulation in England in the nineteenth century stories like that of the blessed Raymund of Penafuerte (Jan. 23rd), who, wishing to go from Majorca to Barcelona, spread his cloak on the sea, and passed over the waters on it, accomplishing the whole distance of one hundred and eighty miles in six hours, and finally entering his convent through the closed doors ; or, that of St. Paul the first hermit, which may stand by the side of Raymund. He told Anthony that a raven had brought him half a loaf every day for sixty years, but on the day of his visit Christ had sent His soldiers double rations, as the raven had brought a whole loaf. The next day Paul died, and Anthony proceeded to bury him, but as he had no spade, "two lions came racing from the desert as though to attend the burying, and with their paws scratched a

hole big enough to contain a man's body, meanwhile showing such signs of grief as their nature alloweth." (I. p. 965.) St. Stanislaus may furnish a third example, though by no means the most profane or absurd that might be adduced. Under date May 7th, we read that his head being cut off by the King of Poland, "his body was hewn to pieces and strewn about the field ; but the eagles strangely kept the birds of prey off it. The Canons of the Cathedral of Cracow soon gathered together the mutilated and scattered limbs, which they were enabled to see by a lightness which overspread the sky at night ; and they fitted them together, each into his place. The reliques immediately so joined themselves one to another that no marks of wounds remained." (I. p. 1066.)

Such are specimens, by no means unfair, of the food which the "Mother and Mistress of all Churches" provides for her children, and which she solemnly avouches to be sound and nutritious !

In these volumes we have not the offices of all the Saints whom Romanists worship, but only of a select number whose names appear in the Calendar prefixed. It is important to observe this, because there are so many names in other Calendars which do not appear here, their owners, although canonized saints, having chiefly a local celebrity. The total number of these is very large. Successive popes have granted the honour of saintship and the worship which follows it, at the request of particular sovereigns, or religious communities, or monastic orders,

until one is almost bewildered in the multitude. More than two centuries ago, certain Jesuits undertook to collect the biographies of all the saints. They and their successors have already filled sixty folios of about a thousand pages each with the names allotted to the first ten months of the year, and will probably fill ten volumes more before they reach the names commemorated on the thirty-first of December.

In former times every diocese was entitled to its own Breviary, and several of the monastic orders had theirs in addition. But after the Council of Trent had entrusted the matter of their reformation to him, Pope Pius V. forbade all local Breviaries which could not plead a prescription of two hundred years ; and the local celebrities are now for the most part found in national Appendices to the Roman Breviary. Lord Bute translates two of these—the English and the Irish, but he declines (vol. II. 1474) to translate the Italian or Roman Appendix. Scotland, he says, has no such Appendix, because until 1878 it had no local hierarchy ; but now it may be expected to be placed in the same position as other countries. A wide field of remark opens out here ; but it must suffice to note the suggestive fact that Scotland, like England, has now its own Roman Catholic bishops, and is no longer governed by the Holy See through vicars-apostolic. Those who saw the Aberdeen Breviary in the Caxton Exhibition will not soon forget it. But Rome will take good care that there will never be another.

The Reformation superseded all our English Breviaries ; * so we do not know if either Sarum, York, or Hereford could have shown a prescription of two hundred years, and thus maintained its ground against the Bull of 1566. But we know that in France, though more than one Breviary has been in use until lately, the course of events has favoured Ultramontanism ; and the Roman Book is gaining ground, if it has not actually displaced all others. This is on many accounts to be regretted, and not least because the French authorities declined to insert many of those legends of which we have spoken above. The Paris Breviary, for instance, gives a very different history of St. Denys ; it makes no mention of his walking with his head in his hands ; and generally contains more instructive matter. The Rouen Breviary is entitled to the same commendation. Both have faults and blemishes enough, yet both compare favourably with the Roman, which, as Jesuitism spreads and prevails, will probably become universal. Whether the local Appendix for Scotland, if permitted and compiled, will resemble that for Ireland, time will show ; but the Irish Appendix to these volumes is short, containing about sixty pages, which, for the reputed "Island of Saints," seems but a scant allowance.

* "Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this Realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln, now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use."—*Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.*

It has, however, a redeeming feature : it contains one truly original miracle. Most of these biographies repeat the same or similar wonders to satiety. Even St. Denys carrying his head in his hands is copied by St. Emygdius, a Portuguese saint, honoured on March the 22nd ; St. Raymund sailing on his cloak was imitated by St. Francis of Paula (April 2nd), and St. Hyacinth, a Pole (II. 1224) ; but St. Farrell stands alone in his glory. We read (vol. I., Irish Appendix, p. 1) : "At a great expense he built the cathedral of Salzburg from the foundations, and brought thither, with great honour and edification of the people, the reliques of holy Rupert, the first of his predecessors. Concerning the building of this church we find a miracle mentioned, namely, that the money for the payment of those that were employed was placed in an open vessel for each man to help himself, but that none of them was ever able to take out of it more than was the just due of his labour."

Surely all builders, architects, clerks of works, and paymasters of all sorts, must envy him, and may be excused for wishing to know some particulars of this perfectly unique utensil ! We greatly doubt if any Scot, however "canny," who may figure in the Scotch Appendix, will compare with St. Farrell under this head.

But to return to the main matter. Although the Legends and Prayers contained in these volumes are by no means all which have been sanctioned by Papal authority since 1631, the date of Pope Urban's revision, they are sufficient to afford ground

for a just estimate of the Romish religious system, considered not so much in its theological, ecclesiastical, or political, as in its devotional and ethical aspects. The question which Lord Bute raises, and as it were forces upon us, by this publication, is, how far the clergy, and through them the people whose characters they are to form, and for the direction of whose consciences they are responsible, are likely to be benefited by the incessant use of these forms. The Scripture lessons for each day need not come into consideration, as they may be said to be common to all Churches, and the only remark we make on this portion of the work is to express regret that the portions chosen are read with so little continuity, being interrupted with responsories, verses, and answers at the end of every ten sentences, if not oftener. Nor need we consider at length the lessons extracted from Popes, Doctors, and Fathers of the Church. Short portions all, and broken into fragments like the Scripture lessons, they still contain some instructive and suggestive passages, along with many that are jejune, and some that are highly objectionable. But the biographies, prayers, and other devotions will abundantly suffice for our purpose. We find all these documents practically put on a level. No man is canonized but by a Pope, nor by any Pope (now at least) but after a long inquiry into his character, teaching, and miracles; and if the teaching has been sound, the miracles sufficient, and the person proved to have possessed the Christian virtues *in an heroic degree*, he

or she is beatified, or declared blessed ; and after an interval canonized, and with great rejoicings enrolled in the catalogue of the Church's mediators with God. The documents upon which the Pope, acting as judge in the matter, proceeds, have been first submitted to various Cardinals who have voted them satisfactory. From these " Acts or Processes " of the proper Court, the various biographers are supposed to select the wonders related here, and those in other Breviaries, all of which the several clergy are enjoined to read daily with due care and reverence that " they may satisfy the duty of their office, and increase their own merit before God." There are many canons of Councils which prescribe a proper behaviour to priests while engaged in their daily task, as may be seen in one of the Paris Breviaries (Ed. 1745, Pars Æstiva). In the Sarum Breviary, 1555, these may be said to be summed up succinctly : " Advertat quod in primis animum suum," etc.* (Maskell's *Monumenta*, ii. xxv.)

* This curious specimen of Monkish Latin may be thus Englished : " Let him observe that, in the first place, he prepare his own mind, by casting away absolutely vain thoughts. Amidst his praying let him not mix up conversations, laughings, and jokes ; let him not attend to birds, dogs, or other animals ; let him select a suitable place for devotion, free from every hindrance. Let him not draw nigh for the sake of human praise, but with right and good intention, aiming at the glory of God, the satisfaction of the duty of his office, the augmentation of merit, the approbation of benefactors.

" Let us read, therefore, most beloved brethren, the canonical hours entirely and exactly, with attention of heart : *Entirely and exactly*, with distinct elocution ; *Reverently*, with befitting posture of body and of soul ; *Appropriately*, at the appointed places and hours."—EDITOR.

Suppose this done without a doubt indulged or permitted, what a monstrous wrong is inflicted on the too confiding priest who puts on the same level the lions in the den at Babylon and the grave-digging lions of St. Anthony, the cloak of St. Raymund and the mantle of Elijah! But if doubts arise, will not the Scriptural and the ecclesiastical wonders be rejected together? We can conceive of no readier way to promote scepticism and infidelity, whether in clergy or laity, than this linking together in "Divine offices" of the momentous and the insignificant, the sublime and the ridiculous. Mr. Charles Butler, indeed, used to say that a man might refuse to believe any miracles but those of the Old and New Testaments, and even disbelieve the existence of the persons at whose intercession these ecclesiastical miracles are said to have been wrought, without ceasing to be a Roman Catholic. But he, though a learned man, was not by any means an ingenuous controversialist; and if he had been, he lived and died before the doctrine of Papal infallibility had been defined and decreed as it now is; and moreover, a Roman Catholic who rejected all ecclesiastical miracles, though he might not cease to call himself a Romanist, would differ little from a Protestant; and would be perpetually at issue with the highest authorities of his Church.

It cannot be unfair to lay the responsibility of all these legends upon the present Church of Rome, so long as we find them in a *Reformed* Breviary. The very title shows that she has the power to

discard or modify them if she will ; and the difference between the book published by Pius V. in 1568 and those previously in use shows this still more clearly. Two succeeding Popes have still further revised that publication, and since the date of Pope Urban's revision successive additions to the number of the saints have necessitated the preparation of new Offices ; so that we find here Offices for saints canonized in 1839 as well as in the intervening period ; and extracts from a Bull published by the last Pope in 1854, or the year following. From beginning to end the book is thus the book of the day. That some Romanists criticise it freely does not make it less authoritative. We may wonder at their boldness, but we must also wonder at her hardihood in continuing to put forth what not merely tries the faith, but provokes the contradictions of her own children. Perhaps, however, this defiance of nineteenth-century criticism is based on the fear that revision once begun could not be arrested, and so the too free use of the pruning-knife might damage those claims to infallibility of which we have lately heard so much. Yet as these claims have survived the revision of the Vulgate, when Pope Clement VIII. braved the anathemas of Pope Sixtus V., it is possible that they might also survive that of the Breviary. To Protestants indeed it is inconceivable that two such authorities should contradict each other, and yet both be right. But we take the documents as they stand, and ask ourselves what is the influence they are likely to exert.

Suppose the Breviary revised and the story of Pope John I. disappearing from the new edition, what becomes of the credit of St. Gregory I., hitherto regarded as a writer of the highest credit, whose pictures often represent him with a dove on his head * or at his ear, to express the belief that he wrote under immediate Divine teaching, and who is styled Doctor and Confessor of the Church? Was he mistaken? or did he fabricate the tale about the restive horse?

There is, however, a further portion of Pope St. Gregory's testimony concerning Pope John I. which has not yet been mentioned, and which no doubt Lord Bute may suppose still more in need of revision. It is the statement that a certain hermit saw the Pope and a patrician named Symmachus going down the crater of a burning mountain with the king Theodoric, who had put them both to death,

* It should be noted that this silly, if not profane, story is told in the Breviary of both the St. Gregories, who were Popes. Of the first, commonly called the Great, we read: "He was the author of many books, and Peter the Deacon declareth that he often saw the Holy Ghost on his head in the form of a dove when he was dictating them." (I. p. 1023.) And of the seventh, whose name was Hildebrand, we read: "While he was celebrating solemn Mass, godly men saw a dove descend from heaven, perch upon his right shoulder, and spread out its wings so as to veil his head, a testimony that it was not by reason of man's wisdom, but by the teachings of the Holy Ghost, that he was guided in his rule of the Church." (I. p. 1085.) Readers of history will not need to be reminded that the "ruler" who was held to have been thus inspired was among the most arrogant assertors of Papal prerogative ever known, and they will not fail to mark that in the collect for the day the Church still prays for grace to follow his example.

"as though they who had been his victims were become the judges of his punishment!" (II. 1089.) A devout believer must be dreadfully perplexed by this narration. If a Pope accompanies his murderer to the place of doom, it cannot be as a companion, still less as a judge, or officer of judgment. If St. Gregory received this horrible story in good faith, what shall we think of his taste and judgment? If he did not believe it, why insert it? And why did Pius V., also a canonized saint as well as a Pope, and two others, Clement VIII. and Urban VIII., allow it to stand? If all four are deceived, or deceivers, and that on a matter of such solemn moment relating to another Pope, whom may the faithful trust?

But suppose that faith triumphs over all the doubts which such a narrative suggests, and the biographies in this book are received with all the reverence due to the testimony of Prophets and Apostles, the reader will learn to venerate St. Dominick, who, whether he invented "the most holy rosary" or not, founded the Order which bears his name, and is responsible also for the holy office of the Inquisition, though not literally its founder. The Breviary celebrates his labours in Toulouse, where "he spent seven years in confronting and plucking up the blasphemies of the heretics" (meaning the Albigenses); and acknowledges in prayers his "worthy deeds and healthful teaching, as a light of the Church" (II. 709, 1194). It also praises St. Raymund for having persuaded the King of Aragon to set up the

Inquisition in his dominions ; and Michael Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V. and a canonized saint, for having "long carried on the work of an Inquisitor with unflinching spirit" (I. 980, 1069). In like manner Ignatius Loyola is declared to have "passed away on July 31st, 1556, to the embrace of that Lord Whose greater glory had been the constant theme of all his words and aim of all his works" ; and in the collect for that day men are taught to pray that they may "so fight upon earth with his help and after his example, that they may worthily hereafter be crowned with him in heaven." The history of the Order of the Jesuits is the best illustration of the effects which the worship of this saint is likely to produce, just as the history of the Inquisition shows the outcome of the honour done to St. Dominick. "By their fruits ye shall know them," is the canon from which there lies no appeal ; and when this rule is applied there is no room for doubt.

There is no need, however, to travel over so wide a field in search of materials for forming a judgment on the effects of the system which these volumes embody and exhibit, not indeed in a cold and dogmatic, but in a living and operative form. Let us look at the devotional and experimental system of the Breviary. It is calculated that the whole Office for each day cannot be even read through consecutively by a person alone under an hour and a half, and when solemnly performed by many with music, it must occupy much more time. To pray without

ceasing is indeed every Christian's duty, but not, surely, in any such sense as would leave small time for other occupations, for then, to use St. Paul's phrase, he must "needs go out of the world." Yet this, which the Apostle contemplates as an impossibility, and uses as a *reductio ad absurdum* in argument, is the natural tendency of the devotion here taught and exemplified. The persons who have separated themselves by vow from the affairs of common life are *the religious*; their dwellings are *religious* houses; the names by which they are known among their associates are, not those they formerly bore, but their names *in religion*, which is thus held up as a thing by itself, a pursuit apart from and higher than those of mankind at large. A false view of Christianity is thus generated and encouraged, and instead of every disciple being taught, enjoined, and assisted to perfect holiness in the fear of God, the universal privilege is in effect restricted to the clergy, and especially to monks, nuns, and hermits. In the numerous biographies contained in these volumes we have but few instances of those who have served God in trades, or literary or scientific pursuits, or in politics. The place of honour is assigned to those who have given themselves up to sacred employments and devotional exercises, or who have founded "congregations" to induce others to do so. The patterns of piety set forth by the score are recluses and ascetics; and thus the system acts and reacts. To make religion a separate business you must leave the

world ; and even then, to excel in the practice, you must stimulate flagging attention, and create factitious excitement by means of which it is hard to think calmly.

Assuming the truth of these narratives, we find one saint after another addicted to practices which are either ridiculously absurd or monstrosly cruel, and sometimes both. One wears a hair shirt, another weaves thorns or needles into the substance of it ; one girds himself with an iron chain, another fastens nails into the links ; one wears a cross studded with nails pressing against his chest, another adds a second smaller cross worn on the back. Some never lie down, but sleep sitting ; others lie on a hard board, others on the ground ; others collect stones with sharp edges and broken pottery on which to take their rest (?). Some scourge themselves with whips till they bleed, others load the thongs with lead or iron ! Some eat but once a day, others once in three days ; some mix all their food with disagreeable condiments, and prefer muddy water to sweet. Lest it may be supposed that we exaggerate, let two short examples be given. Some of the particulars named above are extracted from vol. II. p. 1247, where we have the record of St. Rose of Lima, who is described as "the first flower of holiness which came to full blossom in South America." At the age of fifteen* she uttered a vow of perpetual virginity, and after-

* So Lord Bute writes, but three Latin Breviaries that we have examined give the age as *five* years.

wards, lest her parents should force her to marry, she polled her head of all her hair, which was very beautiful. "She passed whole Lents without taking bread, eating day by day only five pips of a lime. . . . She took the habit of the Third Order of St. Dominick, and then doubled her former severities. . . . She wore day and night under her veil a crown the inner side of which was armed with pricks. . . . She built herself a hut in the furthest corner of the garden, where she gave herself up to thoughts of heavenly things, and to punishing her body with often scourging, starvation, and sleeplessness."

"Perhaps," we have said above, for it is hard to decide between this first flower of South America and the Apostle of Ireland, whose record is (I. 1025) that "he never suffered his spirit to weary in constant prayer. They say that it was his custom to repeat every day the whole Book of Psalms, together with songs and hymns and two hundred prayers; that he bent his knees to God in worship three hundred times every day, and that he made on himself the sign of the Cross an hundred times at each of the seven hours of the Church service. He divided the night into three portions: during the first he repeated the first hundred Psalms, and bent his knees two hundred times; during the second he remained plunged in cold water, with heart, eyes, and hands lifted up to heaven, and in that state repeated the remaining fifty Psalms; during the third he took his short rest lying upon a bare stone."

Now it is admitted by the authors of the Breviary that this incredible legend is built on hearsay ; but there is no cautionary or qualifying word throughout either from the authors or from the noble and learned editor, and it is set forth to be read along with lessons from Scripture and the Fathers ; so that the Church must be held fully responsible for it. In the case of St. Rose the responsibility is boldly assumed by the prayer or collect for her day, which deserves to be quoted in full : " O Almighty God, from Whom cometh down every good and perfect gift, and Who didst cause the dew of Thy grace to fall early from heaven upon this blessed Rose, making the same to blossom in the Indies, as a flower whose loveliness was virginity and long-suffering, grant unto us Thy servants, who do run after the smell of her perfumes, worthily themselves to become a sweet savour unto Christ."

We venture to affirm that no greater contrast to the Christian character as depicted in the New Testament can be exhibited among professors of religion, than that pattern which these examples supply. It has indeed " a show of wisdom," as the ancient asceticism had (Col. ii. 23), and those who know no better think that to treat the body as an enemy is itself a virtue ; but true Christian holiness regards the body as a temple of the Holy Ghost, and yielding the members as instruments of righteousness unto God, it finds that godliness has the " promise of the life that now is," as well as " of that which is to come." While it abjures self-

indulgence, it cannot be less intolerant of self-murder.

There is another standing and insuperable objection to this system. Not only does it prescribe impossible and even mischievous examples, and thus tend to the distress and degradation of its votaries, but it ascribes to these mistaken and foolish, if not positively wicked, men and women a *proper merit* before God. We have noted repeated instances in which the Most High is implored "for the sake" of some mortal to hear prayer, but a very few examples must suffice: St. John de la Mata (I. 1006), "Mercifully grant unto us that *for his sake* we may be delivered"; St. Faithful (p. 1045), "Be entreated, we beseech Thee, *for his sake*, and by his prayers, and so establish us," etc.; St. Devnett (Ireland, p. 13), "Mercifully grant that Thy blessed handmaiden and witness, Devnett, whose feast-day we are keeping, may obtain help for us from Thee, *for the sake of* her life, and by her prayers." It thus appears that the Church of Rome not only prays to God that departed saints may pray for us, but that we may be heard on their account. In another place it is perhaps more plainly put (vol. I. p. 849): "For the sake of him who so nobly served Thee, forgive us our trespasses." If words have meaning, this is to put a fellow-man on the same level with the Lord of glory.

This is still more clearly and formally done in regard to the Blessed Virgin, who in these volumes is presented to us in so many aspects and relations

as almost to oppress and confound the beholder. The man who has formed his ideas of her from the New Testament finds it hard to recognise the poor maiden, afterwards the poor carpenter's wife of Nazareth—to whom her Divine Son, after He had left His home, would allow no peculiar privilege, or shadow of authority over Himself—in the Queen of Heaven who is honoured with as many feasts* as her Son, and besought to exercise a mother's rights over Him. The development of this devotion in the Church of Rome is among the most marked instances of the subtlety of the great deceiver which the history of this world supplies. At every step the

* The feasts kept in honour of our Lord are thus noted in the Ecclesiastical Calendar for 1883: Circumcision, Jan. 1; Epiphany, 6; Most Holy Name of Jesus, Jan. 14; The Prayer of our Lord, Jan. 26; The Passion of our Lord, Feb. 3; The Crown of Thorns, Feb. 9; The Lance and Nails, Feb. 16; The Winding-Sheet, Feb. 23; The Five Wounds, March 2; The Most Precious Blood, March 9; Passion Sunday, March 11; Palm Sunday; Maundy Thursday; Good Friday; Holy Saturday; Easter Sunday; Ascension Day; Corpus Christi, May 24; Most Sacred Heart, June 3; Transfiguration, Aug. 6; The Most Holy Redeemer, Oct. 23; The Nativity, Dec. 25.

Those of the B.V.M. are, Espousals, Jan. 23; Purification, Feb. 2; The Seven Dolours, March 16; The Annunciation, April 2 (from March 25); St. Mary, Help of Christians, June 1; Visitation, July 2; B.V.M. of Mount Carmel, July 16; of St. Mary of the Snow, Aug. 5; The Assumption, Aug. 15; Nativity, Sept. 8; Our Lady of Mercy, Sept. 24; The Holy Rosary of B.V.M., Sept. 7; The Maternity of B.V.M., Oct. 14; The Purity of B.V.M., Oct. 26; The Patronage of B.V.M., Oct. 30; Presentation of B.V.M., Nov. 21; The Immaculate Conception of B.V.M., Dec. 8; The Expectation of B.V.M., Dec. 18; St. Joseph, Spouse of B.V.M., and Patron of the Catholic Church, April 6; Patronage of St. Joseph, April 15; St. Joachim, Father of B.V.M., Aug. 19; St. Anne, Mother of B.V.M., July 26.

honour of the Saviour is made the pretext for augmenting the claims of the creature, and enlisting the tenderest sympathies of humanity on behalf of the corruption of Christianity, both in doctrine and worship. Down the ages the mischief has been growing, until in these volumes we find the late Pope declaring in a dogmatic Bull that he who does not believe her to have been without sin from the first instant of her conception is cut off from the Catholic Church. He affirms in the same document the notorious untruth that the assertion of this doctrine hath *always been* one of the most striking features of the Roman Church.* Whereas, in fact, its rise and growth may be clearly traced. It was first a novel speculation, then "a probable opinion" with some, hotly contested by others. It gained the favour of some rhetorical preachers and writers, and having found its way into hymns and prayers, an Office was compiled to embody it, and the devotion propagated the doctrine far more powerfully and swiftly than argument or exposition; and thus that Mariolatry which for the first thousand years was unknown, before a second thousand years have elapsed bids fair to become, if it is not already, the leading characteristic of the Churches of the Roman obedience.

Formerly among divines the question was stiffly debated as to the limitations of worship, *Latria* being reserved for the Divine Being, while *Dulia* and *Hyper-Dulia* might be distributed among those who

* On this point, Dean Field on *The Church* will well repay perusal. See Appendix to his third book, ch. 6 (Third Ed., fo., p. 264-7).

were admitted to be creatures. Protestants contended that the distinctions were too subtle to be observed, and that under the most favourable circumstances the danger of being involved in creature-worship was imminent. But the system of devotions now in vogue makes it useless to raise the question, for as we know not how to imagine higher honours and greater prerogatives than are assigned to Mary, the question of name is a mere strife of words. Quotations would be almost endless ; we will content ourselves with a single extract given below. Language is exhausted in her praise ; office after office is said in her honour ; one month in the year is the month of Mary ; and on one day of every week the usual office may be set aside in favour of one expressly composed to set forth her greatness and her virtues. Romanists can no longer plead that individuals of a fervent temperament have outstepped the bounds of discretion in their writings, and must therefore be considered as speaking for themselves alone, when we find selected for insertion in the Breviary, and stamped with the highest authority, such words as these : " If we have any hope, any grace, any salvation, it runneth over from her abundance who goeth up overflowing with delights ; with all our hearts, then, let us honour Mary, since this is the will of Him Who hath pleased that it should be through Mary that we should have all things " (II. 1453). A little further on we read :

" Thou art awe-struck by hearing the voice of the Father, thou art ashamed to approach Him, and wouldest fain hide

thyself among the trees of the garden. Lo, He hath given thee Jesus as a Mediator, a Mediator Who will be heard on account of His reverent submission (Heb. v. 7), for 'the Father loveth the Son' (John iii. 35). But perchance thou shrinkest before the Divine Majesty in Him also, since albeit He be made man, He remaineth still God. Wouldst thou have an advocate with Him likewise? Have recourse to Mary. There is nothing in Mary but pure humanity . . . human nature and nothing more. And I have no hesitation in saying that she also will be heard on account of her reverent submission. The Son will indeed hear the mother, and the Father will hear the Son. My little children, *this is the sinner's ladder to heaven; this is my chiefest trust; this is the whole reason of the hope that is in me.* For why? Can her Son thrust her away, or endure that she should be thrust away? Can He either not hear or not Himself be heard? Plainly He cannot. The angel giveth her this joyful assurance: Thou hast found grace with God. She will always find grace with God, and grace is all that we need, since by grace we are saved (Eph. ii. 8). What else do we want, my brethren? Let us seek grace, and let us seek it through Mary, for he that seeketh findeth, and need not be disappointed of his hope."

Lord Bute seems to doubt if his readers will believe his translation of the passage we have italicised, so he adds the original at the foot of the page: *Hæc peccatorum scala, hæc mea maxima fiducia est, hæc tota ratio spei mea.* There can be no mistake here, nor any room to charge us with the exaggerations of controversy. The devotion to the Virgin Mary, especially when pursued to so great an extent, lies open to grave objection on the ground of its moral influence. Even if free from doctrinal unsoundness, it brings into needless and unscriptural prominence the miraculous production

of our Lord's human nature. The Evangelists announce the fact and the date of His birth, but no other New Testament writers refer to it, except in the most general terms. They represent the incarnation as necessary in order to the atonement, and do not deem it needful to do more than record the fact which identifies Jesus of Nazareth with the seed of the woman Who should bruise the serpent's head, and the Immanuel Who was to come of the house of David. They supply no particulars of His domestic life, but speak of His brethren and sisters as well known in His native village. Rome constantly asserts that He had neither, and glorifies His mother on that account. A class of subjects not at all conducive to edification is thus associated with devotional exercises, and phrases which modest people use very sparingly, if at all, are perpetually in use both in public and private worship, and that, too, by a large number of persons who have been taught to renounce family life. Nothing but mischief can result from singling out Joseph from all the other just men whom we know, and making him the object of peculiar honour on the ground of his relationship to the mother of Jesus. But it is in the nature of false worship to develop unspiritual tendencies. The Breviary presents ample proof of this tendency to debase devotion in proportion as its objects are multiplied. Two days in the year are devoted to the honour of the cross on which our Lord suffered ; one commemorates the alleged finding of it by Helena, the mother of Constantine, A.D.

326, and the other its recovery from the power of the Persians, who had taken it captive and detained it fourteen years. Both legends are avouched by miracles, and hymns are sung in honour of the wood and iron! Another solemn day is given to the commemoration of the crown of thorns, another to the spear and nails, another to the shroud or winding-sheet.

Now, while it is freely admitted that a certain kind of devotion is thus promoted, it must also be admitted that it is devotion of the lowest type, appealing at every turn to the senses rather than to the intellect, and therefore apt to deteriorate continually. It is neither a tender admiration of the wonderful babe, nor a sentimental sympathy with the suffering man, that transforms and elevates the believing soul; nor is it the wood of the Cross by which the world is crucified unto us, and we unto the world. The fellowship with His sufferings and conformity to His death which St. Paul coveted is best effected by arming ourselves with the same mind, and ceasing from sin. We die with Him, as we rise and ascend with Him, through the agency of the convincing, renewing, sanctifying, and comforting Spirit, and by that means alone. The material appliances of His passion may assist some minds in apprehending the love that passeth knowledge; but the effect on the whole is to degrade the subject they aim to illustrate. The Gospel of the infancy is not the Gospel of the Resurrection or of Pentecost; and those whose chief

attraction is to Bethlehem or to Calvary are in great danger of stopping short of the full blessing of the Gospel of Christ.

The tendency of Romish devotion, as presented in these volumes, is materialistic and sensuous. The adoration of the Most Precious Blood, for which we find a separate office, and of the Most Sacred Heart (which is just now, alas! in great favour in England), all minister to this tendency in a lamentable manner. If there be any doubt as to the correctness of this view, the reader has only to examine the numerous instances in which the ardours of devotion are said to influence the physical frame. Some of the saints are rapt into ecstasies and lifted up from their feet into the air ; others are preternaturally illuminated ; others, as a special token of favour, see the Blessed Virgin, who places her Son in their arms, or gives Him to them to kiss ; others have the wounds of Jesus supernaturally inflicted or marked upon their bodies ; one even brands herself with His name. St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi is commemorated on May 27th. In the prayer for the day we read : " O God, Who lovest virginity, and didst make Thy blessed Virgin Mary Magdalene afire with the love of Thyself, and rich with Thy heavenly gifts, grant unto us, who honour her memory by a yearly feast, the grace to copy the ensample of her purity and of her tenderness. Through," etc., etc. In her biography we learn that she " made a vow of perpetual virginity at ten years of age . . . at the command of God ate nothing but

bread and water for five years, except on Sundays, when she had Lenten fare . . . chastened her body with hair-cloth, scourging, cold, hunger, nakedness, and all manner of hardships, and after a long and grievous sickness, died at forty-one. The love of God was so hot within her that she was sometimes fain to bathe her breast with cold water to allay the agitation " (I. 1088).

St. Philip Neri, the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, to which so many of Rome's recent English converts have joined themselves, is honoured on the 25th of May as a "Confessor" of the Church. In his biography we read, among other wonderful things, that "he sometimes was raised from the ground and appeared all shining. He was full of the love of God, and his heart was so hot therewith that it became straitened in its place, and the Lord was pleased to ease him by the gristle which joined the fourth and fifth ribs [on his left side] breaking, and so allowing more play to the internal organs " (I. 1087). The bracketed words are inserted by the translator.

Here we must stop, though not because the subject is exhausted. It is in fact barely begun. We have not adverted to the general structure of this vast book, nor to its expository teaching, nor to the large collection of hymns which it contains, though on each of these topics there is much to be said which might not be wholly unworthy the reader's attention. But we have restricted ourselves to the Prayers and Biographies as affording the readiest

and, on the whole, perhaps the most satisfactory means of showing our readers what we have to expect from Romanism as it is found among us. In the eyes of many cultivated Englishmen it has, alas ! the same attractions as for Lord Bute. But with us it is far otherwise. Jezebel paints her face, and tires her hair, but at her best she is Jezebel still.

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING REVIEW.

BY THE REV. JAMES McSWINEY, S.J.

MY attention has been called of late to certain notices of Lord Bute's *Translation of the Roman Breviary*, which have appeared in your periodical. Of the many statements of doctrine or of fact calling for correction or modification, I select for the present your contributor's main contention—viz., that the several portions of which the Roman Breviary consists are "practically put on a level" (p. 19). Of this I can discover no proof whatever. As he correctly states, the Roman Breviary is the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Rome, now adopted by most of the Latin Churches in communion with her. Extract from the Anglican Prayer-Book the Order for the Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, with the Litanies and the Collects, bind together with them the Scripture Lessons, and the result were the exact equivalent of the Breviary. As its history and name imply, it is a *compendium*, a reduction to portable* form of the

* Cf. the old English names, *Portuary*, *Portean*, *Portfory*, *Porthus*, etc.

several elements of the public prayer of the Church as distinguished from the main and central act of worship, the Eucharistic celebration. Of the Book of Psalms and the Pericopes from the Divine Scriptures there is happily no question at present. Next in order of dignity come the Responsories, Hymns, and Collects formulating the belief,* hopes, and aspirations of Christian generations as they wend their way along the beaten track of ages to the goal of their pilgrimage, even the bosom of God the Trinity. The excerpts from the Fathers, doctors, and ecclesiastical writers witness to the faith of their contemporaries, and are authoritative so far forth as the Church Catholic adopts them as expressing her consciousness. Last of all, on Saints' Days, we have short biographies of the saints commemorated in the Church of Rome, or in the other Churches of her communion. As your contributor observes, the names given in the (Roman) Calendar at the beginning of the Breviary are selected from a much larger number inscribed in the Martyrologies and Menologies of East and West. But of this "great multitude," gathered not only from the deserts, or the cloister, but from every grade of secular life, by far the larger portion has *not* been "canonized" (*i.e.*, placed on the authentic roll, or *canon*, of hallowed memories) "by a Pope."

As regards the authority attaching to these biographies, it should not be necessary to state that as

* "Ut legem credendi lex statuat orandi" (S. Coelestini I. Epist. ad Episcopos Gall. c. 11).

resting on historical, *i.e.*, merely human testimony, they cannot claim the unquestioning assent of Divine Faith, whose sole object and correlative is the Revelation of God in His Christ. What, then, is the authority claimed for them? Benedict XIV.* treats this very question with his usual clear-headedness and exhaustive erudition, under the heading, *Of the Roman Breviary, and its Authority*, etc.; and gives a brief account of the revision of the Roman Breviary from its inception by Paul IV. till A.D. 1631, the date (until the other day) of its completion. In a quotation from Bartholomew Gavanti, who was on the then two latest commissions of revision, he informs us that Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius, the famous annalist, strove to avoid a breach of continuity; casting out what was demonstrably false, they retained such disputed narratives as could claim a certain degree of probability from the authority of some reputable author. The learned Pontiff then traces a middle course between the two extremes of an indiscriminate and, at times, vituperative rejection of the hagiology of the Roman Breviary on the one hand, and the credulous pietism that, contrary to the mind of the Roman Church,† shrinks from questioning the merely historical details to be found therein. The character and endowments of those engaged in the several revisions

* Prospero Lambertini, Archbishop of Bologna, translated to Rome A.D. 1740, d. 1758. See his great work, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione*. Lib. 4, part 2, c. 13.

† "Adversus Ecclesiæ Romanæ sensum." *Ubi sup.* § 7.

of the Roman Breviary lend no slight weight to its statements of fact, but this is far from implying that competent critics, who discover solid grounds for dissent, may not with due moderation and propriety impart them to the public, or submit them to the Apostolic See, in order to their being duly considered, when the correction of the Breviary is again taken in hand. He approvingly instances cases of learned men questioning without let or hindrance certain narratives of the Roman Breviary, and the authenticity of their sources. Among these we may mention the Bollandists, the Jesuit hagiologists Dr. Osborn refers to at p. 16, and his own immediate predecessor in the Roman Chair, Benedict XIII., who, while in the See of Benevento, expressly stated, in a work since published in Rome after his translation to that See, that whatever the authority of the Roman Breviary, it may not be pleaded when it conflicts with more ancient documents, and that its frequent revisions plainly show that the Church does not pledge herself unreservedly to all its contents.

As may be seen, at the several stages of the process, the revisers sought to bring the narratives in question into unison with contemporary historical knowledge. Small blame to them for not being ahead of their age, for failing to forecast the then future developments of historical criticism. In more than one instance the timely discovery of monuments justified their cautious conservatism, and made them restore what they had doomed to excision, nor are

there wanting cases in which "nineteenth-century criticism" (by the way, far more concerned with Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, nay, even with the organic laws of thought, than with the legends of saints) has reversed or modified earlier strictures. These oscillations of historical criticism justify, and, in part, account for the seemingly indefinite adjournment of a complete revision. "Great bodies move slowly," and to those the measure will immediately affect it will be very inconvenient to have a work like this done piecemeal. It can scarce be necessary to add, after what has been said, that "the claims of infallibility" are as little concerned in this matter as in the domestic policy of the Incas.

Whenever completed, the revision of the Roman Breviary will not silence all carping: it will leave untouched the biographies of later date, which are summaries of sworn judicial processes. As heretofore, it will present an order of ideas and facts stamped by popular Protestantism with the seal of reprobation. It will set forth to our reverent wonder, though not indiscriminately to our imitation, the sacred rigours of ascetics in their warfare against that inborn selfishness which, far more than the solicitations of the false and perverted agency that seeks among mankind its tools and accomplices, mars the growth of God's kingdom within us. It will record the privations, the sufferings of heroic souls, whether voluntary or lovingly accepted at the Father's hand in the spirit of expiation, and in order to a closer

following of the Crucified. No question here of mistaking means for end, of the Pantheistic asceticism that aims at the effacement or annihilation of human personality, or of "self-murder." The revisers of the future, while carefully sifting each miraculous narrative, rejecting some, qualifying, it may be, others by prefixing a "fertur," *i.e.*, the bare statement of common report, will most assuredly not wholly banish the marvellous from the Breviary Lessons. True, beyond all question, that, save those the Divine Records place above discussion, no facts of this class are vouched for by the witness of God, and hence the *criteria* of historical evidence apply to them, at the very least, as much as to the other *data* of the relation of the senses we receive on human testimony. But at this point the contention involves, together with a question as to facts, a conflict of principles. Catholic teaching reprobates as contrary to the express promise of Incarnate Truth, to the analogy of God's action in history as manifested in the Divine Scriptures, the *à priori* assumption of a certain school that consigns the χάρισμα of miraculous powers to the tomb of the last surviving Apostle.

As it were difficult to improve on Lecky's masterly refutation of it, a bare reference to him will suffice.* It does no violence to our reason or sense of fitness to be told of the wondrous mercies of the sole Author of Nature modifying or suspending its laws, that He may secure and honour the triumph of laws

* See *History of European Morals*.

of a higher order in the moral and supernatural sphere, that He may witness to the Christ dwelling and energizing in His saints. Among other purposes we may reverently assign, marvels like these serve, if but by contrast, to set in higher relief the far mightier manifestations of infinite Love in the conversion of a sinner, and in the gracious aid that sustains our failing steps in the path of God's commandments. With us the question of their credibility is one of mere fact: we admit, reject them, or suspend our judgment concerning them, according to our estimate of the evidence in each case. Hence sneers, which are but feeble echoes of the rostrum of the Secular Hall, are hardly to the purpose. In the story of the horse proving restive after having been mounted by Pope S. John, we have the fact and S. Gregory's *hypothetical* explanation thereof. Admitting the former, we may reject the latter without any reflection on him. So, too, the scene which represented to the hermit Theodoric between his two illustrious victims is, on the face of it, a *vision*. The *dramatis personæ* were at the time *disembodied spirits*. Supposing it to have been real, and not a mere figment of the hermit's brain, it symbolized the fact that their blood had been required at the tyrant's hands, and his awful, ay, "horrible" doom. To read a mere hypothesis as a categorical statement, to comment on the details of a vision as if it were a penny-a-liner's report, is a style of criticism that would hardly commend itself to a cultured unbeliever dealing, say, with the visions of Ezekiel or of the

Blessed Divine. As regards S. Raymund de Penafuerte's (Jan. 23) miraculous escape from Majorca, the story must be taken in the concrete. From it we learn that his landing at Barcelona was seen by some thousands of eye-witnesses.

The "standing and insuperable objection," at p. 30, is the logical outcome of the fundamental divergence of the Protestant schools from Catholic teaching as to man's relations to his eternal destiny, both before and since the Fall, and consequently as to the economy of his rehabilitation in Christ. Suffice it, then, to state that while assigning to the faithful obedience of the justified a *proper merit*, the Church Catholic limits *vicarious merit*, in the strict sense of that term, to the Word Incarnate. But that, conscious of our solidarity with all the members of Christ, we plead before God the faith and patience of His saints, should hardly surprise those who presumably are familiar with Genesis xviii., or with the exiles' prayer in Psalm cxxxi. 10. We further observe that the Word came forth into time not *solely* to atone for sin, but to impart to man the life eternal. He is ever drawing from the bosom of the Father, of which "all we" receive from the overflowing fulness of the Nature He has *indissolubly* wedded to His Divine hypostasis, that He might render worthy of acceptance, by making them His own, the homage and supplications of men and angels. The ecclesiastical Christ is one and the self-same with the historical, the evangelical Christ, the Son of Mary Ever Blessed, the Man of Sorrows, the Victim of

Golgotha, the Risen One, living for ever, taken up into glory, yet dwelling among us to continue His blessed work of redemption and rehabilitation.

In the strictures on Marian devotion the obvious gradations of religious homage are said to involve distinctions too subtle for the Protestant mind. Our estimate of its powers has never sinned by exaggeration ; still we think Dr. Osborn hardly does them justice. As we learned in the schools, "*Ab actu ad posse valet consecutio.*" The followers of Muhammad pay to him the highest honours, claim for him singular prerogatives ; yet what Protestant writer has ever charged *them* with "creature-worship" ? But he is "unable to conceive higher honours . . . than are assigned to Mary." He might say as much if he heard us attempt to describe the wondrous work done by God's Holy Spirit in the babe of an hour, whose brows are yet moist with the waters of regeneration. He has yet to make acquaintance with the service-books of the Greek and other Eastern Churches, or, better still, to learn the *a b c* of Catholic worship, which deems the unspeakable self-abasement of the Word Incarnate the sole homage adequate to the claims of the Divine Majesty. To own oneself incapable of apprehending the broad distinction between Self-subsistent and imparted excellence, between the Absolute and the conditioned, the finite and the Infinite, is a strange though candid avowal for one who further on descants on the sensuous and materialistic tendencies of "Romish" [qy. Roman—Roman Catholic ?] worship. The

Platonist S. Augustin mentions may have inveighed against "the sensuous and materialistic tendencies" of "The Word was made flesh"; but his admiration of the sublime proœmium of which it forms part shows him to have been capable of at least some reflex metaphysical ideas.

At p. 34 it should have been stated that the quotations there incriminated occur in S. Bernard's first sermon on the Nativity of the B. Virgin. The footnote at August 15 commented upon by Dr. Osborn was suggested by an observation of Benedict XIV., who, in his work *De Festis D.N.I.X. et B.M.V.* (Part 2, chap. 8, § 23), shows that of itself the word "assumption" grounds no safe inference as to the mind of the Church regarding the exemption of the virginal frame of God's All-holy Mother from the insults of death, as it occurs in S. Gregory of Tours to denote the demise of S. Avitus of Vienne. To say that "This is not a matter of faith" by no means implies doubt. "The half is less than the whole"; "The battle of Actium sealed the triumph of the *plebs* over the patricians"; "The use of an umbrella is to be stolen"; are propositions assuredly not "of faith"; indeed, the first never could be, on account of its intuitive evidence, yet no man outside Bedlam would ever question them.

The date assigned to "Mariolatry" next claims notice; omitting for the nonce all reference to the *dicta* of the Fathers, such as S. Cyril of Alexandria's opening discourse at the Council of Ephesus, it lately fell to my lot to help in editing a Litany to the

Blessed Virgin, which was said or sung by an Irish community A.D. 725. On one of the margins of the St. Gall Priscian, copied in Ireland A.D. 850 at latest, may be seen scribbled a plaintive invocation, which shows that, like their children in the nineteenth century, our forefathers in the ninth sought, as it were instinctively, Mary's aid in times of trouble. The piety of the present is a heritage from the remote past of which the outrage of Protestant ascendancy has not availed to rob us. The Bull defining the sinless conception of the Blessed Virgin was drawn up by Passaglia, one of the first divines and patristic scholars of the age. What is therein asserted is amply borne out by the testimonies he has recorded in his three huge volumes, *De Immaculata B. V. Conceptione*. The implied inference from the Lord's "brothers and sisters" (p. 35) is a gloss of your contributor unsupported by the witness of the Divine Scriptures, flatly contradicted by Catholic prayer, which in its earliest monuments ever couples with Mary's name the title of *Ἀειπαρθένος* (=always a virgin),* and which, as recent occurrences in Syria reported to me by an eye-witness prove, would rouse even a Muslim audience to a violent outburst of indignation.

To conclude, the predicate "Scriptural" and its opposite occur more than once in these Articles. In other words, Dr. Osborn begs the whole question at issue. Under *his* pen, "Scriptural" can mean no

* "A virgin unto all times" (Coptic Liturgies *passim*).

more than agreement with *his* construction of the Divine Volumes ; this implies two very disparate factors—the words of Inspiration and his private study at best, if not his passive acceptance of the tradition of a school destitute of historical antecedents. By the trite rule of logic—"Pejorem sequitur semper conclusio partem," such results can claim at most but a subjective value. If more be claimed for them, by slurring over the intermediate process, by eliminating from the equation the mental activity or passive assent involved in its second member, I remind him that there is already a Pope in Rome. The question as between us and those without, who still, thank God, venerate the Divine Scriptures as the oracles of God, is not, "What saith," but, "What means the Scripture?" and Dr. Osborn will excuse us if we question his competence. Needless to add that neither in the name of the noble translator, nor for my own part, can I accept Dr. Osborn's compliments on our "courage," "boldness," etc. On the maxim *Cuique suum*, the Bollandists and Rev. Alban Butler*—standard authorities with us, by the way—might claim the lion's share. "Where there is no law, there is no transgression"; and the work awaited but the somewhat unusual combination of indefatigable industry and studious tastes with ample means and leisure. Not that it is the first of its kind, as I have lately met with an old French translation of the Roman Breviary. Better than Dr. Osborn can I

* *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Principal Saints.*

feel the pulse of our brethren in the Faith ; he will therefore bear with me when I tell him that his surmises, no less than his compliments, are out of joint with the facts of the case, and that his evident lack of offensive intent acquits him of impertinence in giving them expression.

P.S.—The Sarum Rite (Breviary, Missal, etc.) might have remained till now the “use” of most of the Churches of the three kingdoms, were it not that “ardent” Protestants destroyed every copy of it they could lay hands on, not sparing many a valuable historical monument and repertory of mediæval learning. As for the other “uses” mentioned in Preface to Book of Common Prayer, they were restricted to certain localities, nor can I say whether they could have claimed the two hundred years’ prescription required by the Bull of S. Pius V. According to the legal maxim, “Accessorium sequitur principale” (Reg. Juris in VIto), the Aberdeen Breviary, being but a local adaptation of the Sarum, will, of course, never be restored. The resumption of the Roman Service-Books in France is mainly due to the *Benedictine* Abbot Dom Guéranger.

• REPLY TO MR. McSWINEY'S REMARKS.

THE first point that arises in Mr. McSwiney's observations on my paper is the degree of credit due to the various portions of which the Breviary services are composed. Divine faith, he says, is due only to the Holy Scriptures ; the hymns, responsories, and prayers come next in importance, the biographies last of all, as depending on historical evidence merely. He demurs to my statement that they are practically put on a level, and says he "can see no proof " of it ; I contend that the slightest inspection of the Breviary shows it. The Scriptures, homilies, prayers, hymns, and biographies form one service. All are to be read together on the prescribed day ; all are enjoined by the same authority under heavy penalties, and without any distinction of parts ; and, as if to preclude the possibility of any such distinction arising, we find the biography in many cases wrought into the substance of the prayers and hymns, so that they cannot be separated from each other. I will adduce as illustrations and proofs :

1. Raymund, honoured January 23rd, whose story is mentioned (p. 14), and in whose office we read the prayer: "O God, Who didst choose the blessed Raymund . . . and in a wonderful manner didst make him to pass over the waves of the sea," etc., etc.

2. S. Scholastica (honoured February 10th): "O God, Who, to show the way of the undefiled, wast pleased that the soul of Thy blessed Virgin Scholastica should fly to heaven in a bodily shape like a dove, mercifully grant," etc., etc.

3. S. Clement, Pope and martyr, honoured November 23rd, whose story is told in three lessons. The last of them narrates that he was drowned with an anchor tied about his neck, and that after it had been done, while the Christians were praying on the shore, the sea went back three miles, and when they followed it, they found a grotto of marble in form like a temple, and therein a stone coffin, wherein was laid the body of the martyr, and hard by the anchor wherewith he had been sunk. A lesson from Matthew xxiv., and a homily of St. Hilary, are appointed to follow the biography. The third responsory for this office is as follows: "Lord, Thou hast given to Thy martyr Clement a tabernacle in the sea, after the fashion of a temple of marble, builded by the hands of angels. And Thou gavest a way thither unto the people on the land, that they may tell of Thy marvellous works. Lord, Thou didst give unto Thy saints a way in the sea, and a path through the mighty waters."

4. On September 17th, we have an office which is in part common to other saints, and in part peculiar to one. What is peculiar is, first, three lessons from the Epistle to the Galatians, being parts of the fifth and sixth chapters, in which St. Paul speaks of his bearing in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Then three lessons from the life of St. Francis, by Cardinal Buona-Ventura, in which is told the history of his seeing a seraph, "after which vision the body of Francis was outwardly changed into the likeness of Him Who was crucified. From thenceforth there were seen in his hands and feet the marks of the nails. . . . In his right side also there was a long raw wound, as though he had been pierced with a spear, from which wound his holy blood oftentimes ran, and stained his shirt and breeches. Thereafter Francis was a new creature, famous for a new and awful sign : the holy marks of the Lord Jesus, whereon living men had not been allowed to look for twelve centuries, were his adornments." There is more to the same effect, and also that though Francis would have kept them secret, they became known by divers miracles ; that all these things were thoroughly witnessed, and that two Popes were parties to the publication of them. The prayer for the office invokes the Lord Jesus Christ, "Who, when the love of many was waxing cold, didst manifest once more the holy marks of Thine own suffering in the flesh of Thy most blessed servant Francis," etc., etc. There is also a Versicle and Answer as follows : " *V.* Lord, Thou didst mark Thy servant Francis. *A.* With the

marks of our redemption." And two verses of a hymn in which the same wonder is narrated. The second reads thus :

" Again returns the sacred day,
With heavenly glory bright,
When Thou wast pleased upon his flesh
Thine own dread marks to write."

To these let me add two who were mentioned in my former article, to which I beg the reader to turn.

5. St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi (honoured May 27th). See p. 37.

6. St. Katharine (honoured November 25th). See p. 13.

My argument here is greatly strengthened by the fact that the prayer for this office not only recites the legend or biography, but expressly puts it on a level with the Mosaic history (Exod. xix., xx.), thus : " O God, Who didst give the law unto Moses upon the top of Mount Sinai, and there didst cause the body of Thy blessed virgin and martyr Katharine to be marvellously laid by Thine holy angels, grant unto us," etc., etc.

7. Of St. Theresa (honoured October 15th) it is said : " His own love (*i.e.*, the love of God) so blazed in her heart that she attained to see an angel run her through with a fiery spear... It was worn out with the fever of her love, rather than by the wasting of disease, that she sank upon her death-bed at Alva." Two hymns are given in this office. From the first I extract two verses :

- “Thou partest from thy Father’s home,
As herald of the King most high,
Eager, Theresa, far to roam,
And give the heathen Christ or die.
- “But thee a gentler death awaits,
A sweeter anguish shall be thine,
When thou shalt sink as penetrates
The spear-wound made by Love Divine.”

Here, then, are seven distinct instances in which the biographies are interwoven with the devotions, and cannot be separated. More might be adduced ; but I hope my readers will see clearly what my learned censor cannot see at all, that “these documents are practically put on a level” (p. 19). What can a man do more with the words of Scripture than turn them into hymns and prayers, and utter them before the Most High ? And as this is repeatedly done in the Breviary, my “contention,” though not my *main* contention, as Mr. McSwiney erroneously calls it, is fully established.

Two Popes are quoted by Mr. McSwiney to show that the Church does not set the Breviary above criticism, or pledge herself unreservedly to all its contents. The labour, however, hardly was needed, for the very word “*Reformed*” on the title shows as much. The bull prefixed to the Breviary of Pius V. is very express as to the changes which had been made before his time in the Breviary of Gregory VII. But our complaint (p. 21) was and is, that notwithstanding the undoubted right of the Church to revise her own formularies, and the repeated exercise

of that right by successive Popes, the book should still be what it is : that there should be throughout, mixed up with the Holy Scripture, and combined in the same " offices," matter which many of those who use it do not believe to be true ; and more, matter which they do not hold themselves bound to believe—nay, which they hold themselves at liberty publicly to contradict.

On this latter point I own myself to have been mistaken. I did suppose that deference to the authority of three Popes, if not religious reverence, would have forbidden criticisms so free as those on which I remarked, and which I knew would most likely, in other places and earlier times, have secured for their author a place in the prisons of the Inquisition, and his work a place in the Index of Prohibited Books.* But it is now clear that, if there is Papal authority for believing, there is also Papal authority for doubting, challenging, and denying the book as we have it even after the revision of three Popes. I therefore withdraw those ascriptions of courage which the article contained (pp. 11-13), and would apologize for them if Mr. McSwiney had not truly and justly stated that they were not penned with any offensive intent.

But I must needs ask, In what a position does the question now stand ? I could almost have

* There is found in an Index of Prohibited Books published at Rome in 1819 a certain translation into English of a part of the Liturgy and Ritual of the Roman Church by a Romish Priest named Gandolphy, though an earlier and larger one appears to have escaped notice.

wished, in the interests of common honesty, that Mr. McSwiney had not adduced the conclusive testimony of his two Popes. For it follows from that testimony, taken together with the unchanged ordinances for the use of the book, that thousands of people are under a stringent obligation to include in their daily devotions matter which they may avow that they do not believe.

I cannot even stop here. Each of these Popes has, it would seem, published on this very subject—one before, the other after his elevation, and both to the same effect. Did either of them revise the Breviary? Did they remove what Lord Bute considers utterly unjustifiable, and describes as “rejected by all writers”? I cannot find that they altered a line of it. It is handed on as it was received, and Pope St. John’s horse, Pope Clement’s tomb, St. Katharine’s burial, St. Francis’s wounds, St. Anthony’s lions, and Raymund’s cloak, are all found after the two Benedicts had come and departed. None of these things having stirred their critical instincts and powers into action, they must be presumed to have regarded them as safe and wholesome food for the flock they claimed to feed.

It is, however, doubly and trebly unfortunate that Benedict XIII. has expressed himself so very freely regarding the Breviary. In a passage not quoted by Mr. McSwiney, but which Dr. Southey quotes from the Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, Vol. I. p. 428), he speaks of it as needing the *application of a large and full sponge*, which the

Church will allow the use of. This goes far beyond the Church not pledging herself to all its contents. But what are we to think of the Church which, by the confession of her Head, uses and enjoins the use of such a book of devotion? And what are we to think of the Pope who, after expressing himself thus, gave his official sanction to the office for July 16th found in these volumes for "The Blessed Virgin Mary, styled of Mount Carmel"? I cannot quote it in full; but the object of it is to promote and encourage the use of "a certain badge called the Holy Scapular, which the B.V.M. delivered to the blessed Englishman Simon Stock, even an heavenly garment whereby this Holy Order [of Carmelite monks] is marked and guarded against all assaults." Those who wear this garment, and belong to the guild of the Scapular, are assured on certain easy conditions of being comforted in Purgatory by the Holy Mother, and going through it to their home in heaven more speedily than others. Upon this and other legends relating to the same subject, a vast superstructure of falsehoods has been reared; and Benedict XIII. is largely, if not mainly, responsible for them. There lies before me the first edition of this office, dated 1726. It bears traces of some hesitation on the part of the author, for the wonders it narrates are introduced with, "There is a story to the effect," and "Many godly persons believe"; but when we come to the Papal deliverance there is no faltering: "Our Most Holy Lord Benedict XIII., for the encouragement and perpetual increase of the

worship of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, doth approve of the above printed office for the solemnity of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, and commands it to be annually recited by all the faithful in Christ of both sexes, who are bound to recite the canonical hours, on the 16th of July in each year." In Duffy's weekly volume of the *Library of Catholic Divinity*, No. 19, printed in Dublin, 1844, we have a large collection of miracles wrought by the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, and the author informs us that the Order of the Blessed Virgin was begun and founded on the Mountain of Carmel about nine hundred and thirty years before the coming of Christ, and the institutor of it was the great prophet Elias, who knew from a prophetic notion that the little cloud which he saw rise out of the sea signified the glorious Virgin Mary.

I need not further illustrate the character of Pope Benedict XIII., to whom Mr. McSwiney appeals as a witness that the Breviary is not to be implicitly believed : a Pontiff who contended for its untrustworthy character, and yet made it still more untrustworthy by adding a new office, and bound it upon the consciences of his people, along with other legends which he contended were falsehoods. Can we find a better example to illustrate St. Paul's description of some who in the last days "shall depart from the faith . . . speaking lies in hypocrisy" ?

Mr. McSwiney is disposed to argue about the

legend of the restive horse. We have, he says, "the fact, and St. Gregory's *hypothetical* explanation. Admitting the former, we may reject the latter without any reflection on him." I answer No; for it is this same hypothetical explanation on which the so-called miracle depends. But for it the story would have no place here. There would be nothing deserving of a record in a book of devotion in the mere fact that a gentleman gave away a horse he did not like. But the *hypothesis* implying the dignity and holiness of the Pope and his superiority to the lady changes an ordinary into a supernatural event, and compels us to believe that St. Gregory had a lively imagination, or an easy faith, or both. So of the vision. Mr. McSwiney overlooks that St. Gregory would not have related it had he not considered it for the honour of St. John the Pope; and I was therefore entitled to show that it was not. If it was the mere brain-sick fancy of an unknown hermit, why preserve it for hundreds of years, and attribute special Divine inspiration to the credulous reporter? Raymund's miraculous voyage, he says, must be "taken in the concrete." But the circumstance he mentions is not mentioned in the Breviary, nor, in so many words, in Alban Butler, who only speaks of a crowd, while Mr. McSwiney says "thousands of eye-witnesses," as he speaks elsewhere of sworn processes. One would be glad to know how many thousands of them were sworn or cross-examined.

Mr. McSwiney warns us that any future revision

of the Breviary will not produce a book that will please Protestants. We do not expect it. The Church of Rome depends too much upon the credit of alleged miracles, and upon the pecuniary profit which results from their acceptance, to cease from their use as aids and stimulants to devotion. Images, relics, charms, rosaries, scapulars, and the like, will be in vogue wherever her influence extends. For the credulous she will have wonders, for the sceptical she will have reservations, qualifications, sometimes even denials and disclaimers, if by any means she may keep both classes in her fold. In this way, she feeds and nurses a sceptical spirit from generation to generation, to the unspeakable detriment of true religion and sound morality. For ourselves, not being of the number of those "who consign the χάρισμα of miraculous powers to the tomb of the last surviving Apostle," we do not need cautions against rationalism, or help from Mr. Lecky in relation to this subject. It is our dislike to Rationalism, which is sure to be promoted by undue demands on faith, which compels us to protest against grave-digging lions, calculating money-boxes, the house of Loretto,* the blood of St.

* I have referred above to the House of Loretto, but I cannot find the office for the day of its translation in Lord Bute's volumes. Perhaps it may be in the Local Appendix, which he does not translate. At all events, the Litany of our Lady of Loretto holds its place in all the popular Manuals of Devotion which I have seen, whether in Latin, French, or English. And in the Breviary prepared for the Franciscan Orders, second edition, Venice, 1785, and approved by Pope Pius VII., I find among the offices *Pro aliquibus locis* the full office for the feast of

Januarius, and the like. How these things *may* answer the purpose of bringing out in higher relief the work of grace in the conversion of a sinner, we do not care to consider; for no truly converted sinner would need instruction derived from such sources, or ever think of seeking it there.

A graver matter must now receive attention. It is wrapped up in many grand words, but for all that may be made plain. Mr. McSwiney affirms that his Church limits *vicarious* merit in the strict sense of that term to the Incarnate Word. "*Proper merit*," I suppose, for in contrast with vicarious it can mean nothing else, means desert for oneself, *vicarious* merit desert on behalf of others. Then, upon what principle are the prayers that I quoted

the translation of the Holy house of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The lesson affirms that it was miraculously conveyed by angels from place to place, till it rested at Loretto, and there approved itself to be the very house of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in which the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, by many wonderful miracles and benefits of grace; so that Pope Innocent XII. was led to institute this solemnity to be observed through the whole province of Picenum. The prayer affirms that the house has been consecrated by the mystery of the Incarnation, and wonderfully placed in the bosom of the Church.

It is scarcely less wonderful that an English gentleman in the nineteenth century, once High Sheriff of his county, should be found writing of this place as follows: "The writer of this treatise has made two pilgrimages to our Lady of Loretto, and he had the consolation to bring from that most blessed shrine several precious relics. There is no place in the world where our blessed Lady is so much honoured, or where she so much manifests her power as at Loretto" (*Manual of Devotion*, by A. L. Phillipps, Esq.). Thus is the Scripture fulfilled: "They shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables."

on p. 30, and the many like them that I might have quoted, framed? If the merit of the saint is a plea at all, it can only be vicarious merit. The prayer is not for a reward for the saint himself, but for a benefit to the worshipper. The saint is supposed to have deserved something that the suppliant needs. The suppliant asks, and is taught to expect it, for the saint's sake, or as it is often plainly expressed, by "his merits and prayers." This doctrine is bad enough, I own. Nor do I attempt to justify it; I only contend that it *is* the doctrine, and that to deny it to be the doctrine of the Breviary, or of the Church which issues and sanctions that book, is very like denying that day follows night. I should have been astonished at the denial if I had not had some experience in controversies of this nature, and heard notorious facts boldly denied. I will only add here, that though I cannot accept what Mr. McSwiney calls Catholic teaching on this subject, a Breviary reformed according to it would present an aspect very different to the present book.

Again: if there be no vicarious merit recognised by the Church of Rome, what becomes of that vast store of indulgences, pardons, etc., which the Popes in long succession have pretended to dispense, and by the offer of which they have persuaded Roman Catholics to keep jubilees, and practise pilgrimages? The world has been told again and again that these merits have accumulated beyond the personal needs of the saints, and are at the disposal of the Church

for the benefit of others. It will surely be hard to distinguish this from vicarious merit.*

But Mr. McSwiney seeks to anticipate this question. "We plead before God the faith and patience of His saints," he says; "and this should hardly surprise those who presumably are familiar with Genesis xviii., or Psalm cxxxi. 10."† But neither of these are cases in point: Abraham did not plead with God the faith and patience of the Sodomites, nor even of his nephew, but the essential justice and goodness of his Maker; and the Psalmist pleads, not David's goodness, but God's covenant with David, which he forthwith recites; and so the psalm is entitled in the Revised Doway Psalter: "A prayer for the fulfilling of the promise made to David."

In defining what he calls Catholic teaching, Mr. McSwiney exhibits the well-known tendency of sacramental theologians to shift the centre of the Christian system from the Atonement to the Incarnation. We have seen some melancholy instances of this tendency among our own English divines, as they have inclined to sacramentalism and sacerdotal-

* See the Circular Letter of Leo XII., proclaiming the Jubilee of 1825. "We have decreed to open as widely as possible that heavenly treasury which, being purchased by the *merits*, passions, and virtues of our Lord Jesus Christ, of His virgin Mother, *and of all saints*, is committed to us for distribution." No distinction of merits into two classes is recognised here; but those of Christ and the saints are placed on a level.

† In Authorized Version cxxxi. 10. Compare also Psalm lxxxix. 3, Isaiah lv. 3.

ism ; but here we read : “ The Word came forth into time not solely to atone for sin, but to impart to man the life eternal. He is ever drawing from the bosom of the Father, of which ‘all we’ receive from the overflowing fulness of the Nature which He has *indissolubly* wedded to His Divine hypostasis, that He might render worthy of acceptance, by making them His own, the homage and supplications of men and angels. The ecclesiastical Christ is one and the self-same with the historical,” etc., etc. See p. 47. The theory is: the man Jesus united to the Godhead receives the fulness, imparts it to His people, and properly deserves to obtain what He asks, because He is one with the Son of God. Of His mediatorial work, His offices, His precious blood, His priestly intercession, there is not a word. How clearly may we trace “another gospel” here ! Not in His Divine character as the Eternal Word, but as the One Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus, Who gave Himself a ransom for all, the Great High-priest Who offered up Himself once for all, and ever lives to make intercession, is He represented in Scripture as obtaining and applying our salvation, or, in Mr. McSwiney’s phrase, “carrying on His blessed work of redemption and rehabilitation.” As a Person simply Divine, He could not deserve anything, for all was His own. As the God-man, He could not have effected our redemption and rehabilitation merely by the mysterious constitution of His adorable person. It was, we may say, accommodating the words to our purposes, “of necessity that

this Man should have *somewhat to offer*," or in the Lord's own words : " It behoved the Christ to suffer, that remission of sins might be preached." And therefore, as soon as St. Peter had confessed Him as the God-man, He told him that He must suffer, and indignantly rejected the apostle's remonstrance. And further, as if to anticipate and preclude any such putting of the case as we have here, He said : " I am come that they might have life." " I lay down My life for the sheep." Why ? " This commandment have I received of My Father." With what results ? First, to Himself : " Therefore doth My Father love Me, because I lay down My life." Next to us : " Except the grain die, it abideth by itself alone : but if it die, it beareth much fruit." " I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever." Mr. McSwiney represents the eternal Word as presenting the homage and supplications of men *and angels*. But angels do not need a Mediator or Redeemer ; and in this, as in many other respects, " Catholic teaching " adds to the things written in the Book, as if quite fearless of the penalty upon those who do so.

The next subject of Mr. McSwiney's animadversions has many parts, which I will endeavour to deal with separately. He holds me up to ridicule for saying that Protestants are unable to conceive higher honours . . . than are assigned to Mary. He omits, however, three words from the sentence he ridicules. Let the reader please to supply after honours " and

greater prerogatives," and he will have the whole sentence, and will perhaps guess why Mr. McSwiney omitted the phrase. The prerogative of commanding her Son ascribed to the mother of Jesus in the most popular and frequently used hymn, "*Ave Maris Stella*," might suffice to justify what I have written. The common English version softens down *monstrata esse matrem* into "Exert the mother's care"; and "*Sumat per te preces*," in like manner, into "To Him convey our prayer"; so that the mere English reader does not catch the full meaning.* But

* The oldest English translation, dating say from 1380 to 1410, I have seen is "Show thee to be modir. By thee take He our prayer," which better represents the Latin imperative *Sumat*. Bishop Andrewes, in his reply to Cardinal Perron, has this remarkable passage: "They say to the Blessed Virgin not only Pray for us, but 'Succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, refove flebiles, accipe quod offerimus, dona quod rogamus, excusa quod timemus.' All which, and many more, show plainly that the practice in regard to the invocation of saints is far otherwise than the Cardinal would represent; that to ask for their prayers is not all, but that 'Tu dona cœlum, Tu lava, Tu sana, Tu solve crimina, Tu duc, conduc, induc, perduc ad gloriam, Tu conserva, Tu fer opem, Tu aufer, Tu confer vitam,' are said to them, *totidem verbis*, more than which cannot be said to God Himself." Archbishop Ussher's *Reply to a Jesuit* contains a large collection of instances full to the same point. One shudders to read and recoils from the task of transcribing. A single instance or two shall suffice. Bonaventure prays to her as "Empress and Lady, to command her Son by the authority of a mother"; and in his Psalter, "Incline the countenance of God upon us, compel Him (*coge eum*) to have mercy upon sinners" (*Reply*, p. 489). Bernardine of Sienna saith: "All the gifts, graces, and virtues of the Holy Ghost are by her hands administered to whom she pleaseth, when she pleaseth, how she pleaseth, and as much as she pleaseth; and this because she is the mother of the Son from Whom the Spirit proceedeth." So much for the reason of the omitted words, "greater prerogatives."

writers in prose go further than this, as Liguori's *Glories of Mary* (a book easy of access) will show. How far Mohammed's disciples go in honouring him, I do not exactly know, nor am I concerned to inquire; they may or not be chargeable with creature-worship; but that is a side issue, and must not be allowed to divert attention from the Church of Rome. Protestants may be dull, or even stupid; but we do not overlook "the broad distinction between Self-subsistent and imparted excellence, between the Absolute and the conditioned, the finite and the Infinite." We apprehend it as clearly as Mr. McSwiney, and it is just the clearness of our apprehension that lays the ground of our quarrel with his Church. We insist that he gives to the finite being what belongs to the Infinite, to the limited and conditioned, the due of the Absolute, and to the poor sinful (though highly favoured) child of Adam the glory due to the Eternal God. It is one thing not to understand the distinction itself, and quite another thing to insist that it is practically obliterated, though theoretically recognised, by the Church of Rome.

I have yet "to learn," according to Mr. McSwiney, "the *a b c* of Catholic worship, which deems"—I suppose he means Catholic theology, for I do not understand how worship can *deem* anything at all, though the theology which worship embodies may, by a figure, be said to do so—"the unspeakable self-abasement of the Word Incarnate the sole homage adequate to the claims of the Divine Majesty." If

this be Catholic teaching, I am sure that Roman Catholic practice is very much out of harmony with it. For the earliest Primer, or elementary Book of Devotion, in my possession, contains the following blasphemous supplication: "Holy mother of God, that *deservedst* worthily to conceive Him that all the world might not contain, with thy meek beseeching wash away our guilts, that we, *redeemed by thee*, may mount up to the city of endless bliss"* (*Maskell's Monumenta*, II.-11).

I should have stated, it appears, that St. Bernard was the author of the exhortation I quoted on pp. 33-4 containing the startling profession that Mary was his "chiefest trust," and "the whole reason of the hope" that was in him. By all means let him have the credit of it, and also the several Popes that have adopted the shameful profession as their own. I do not observe that Mr. McSwiney adopts it, though Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. certainly did. But I do observe that he does not answer the question, What higher honours or greater prerogatives could be ascribed to the Deity?

When this shocking "Marian devotion" first came into the Church is another question raised by Mr. McSwiney. He thinks he can trace it back to the year 750 in Ireland. But if so, he is still at least seven hundred years too late. In matters of worship "that which was from the beginning" must be our

* I have modernized the spelling here, though not in the former extract, and, though with regret, changed the old English "agen boughte" for redeemed.

rule to the end. The very first mark of catholicity supplied by the maxim which he, at least, will not repudiate: "ALWAYS, Everywhere, and By all," is wanting; and nothing Passaglia may have adduced in his three volumes can set aside the testimonies adduced by Field in the place already referred to.

Mr. McSwiney also turns to ridicule my astonishment at finding that the Assumption of the Virgin was not *de fide*, and supposing that it was consequently open to doubt. He must excuse my simplicity. I really did suppose, and have always supposed, that our faith was to dictate and regulate our prayers. But it seems I was wrong. Here is a whole office provided for a festival of the First Class—a holiday of obligation—a service extending over nine days, to celebrate what Lord Bute cautions us against supposing we are bound to believe! It is, he says, "a common tradition" that the Blessed Virgin Mary rose again, and is now body and soul in heaven; "but such tradition must be carefully distinguished from matters of faith" (August 15th). "See Alban Butler." Turning to this convenient referee, I find him asserting the distinction between matters of faith and opinion, praising the moderation of the Church which has not made it a matter of faith, arguing for it as a probable opinion, and then declaring that her corporal assumption "*is the truth*"; but were it not so, the object of the present festival is still the same. "It is an opinion, which the Church so far favours, as to read from the works of St. John Damascene and St. Bernard an account

of it (*i.e.*, her corporal assumption) in the Breviary as proper to edify, and excite the devotion of her children."

What, then, are these lessons judged proper to edify? One of them affirms that all the Apostles, who were wandering to and fro in the earth for the salvation of the Gentiles, were in a moment carried off into the air and assembled together at Jerusalem to witness her death, where they saw a vision of angels, and heard their songs for three days after her burial. That then Thomas came, being three days late. He was fain to worship that body which had held God, and so opened the tomb; but the body was absent, only the clothes and an unspeakable savour remained. So they were only able to imagine that it was taken to heaven while it was still kept free from corruption. So far is a brief abridgment of St. John Damascene. St. Bernard expatiates with his accustomed fervour on her reception in heaven, and concludes thus: "Who shall declare the generation of Christ, or the assumption of Mary? So much as she found grace on earth more than others, so much more excellent than that of others is the glory which she hath in heaven."

The prayer or collect for this office does not affirm the fact of her corporal assumption; but the responsories are full of it: "Mary hath been taken into heaven; the angels rejoice, they praise and bless the Lord. The Virgin Mary hath been taken into the chamber on high, where the King of kings

sitteth on a throne amid the stars ;" and much more to the same effect.

If we ask, Why are all these things not of faith ? the answer is: They are not Divinely revealed. Ask how they are known to be true though not revealed ? the answer must be: They are attested by John Damascene, who died in the eighth century, and Bernard of Clairvaux, who died in the twelfth. Ask again for a primary authority, a contemporary witness, and then are produced the most holy Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus—who, however, has left no writing on the subject—and Denys the Areopagite. Turn next to October the 9th to inquire concerning Denys, and Lord Bute assures you that the writings attributed to him are " rejected by most writers." Dupin (*Hist. Eccles. Writers*, I. p. 33) goes further still, and proves at length that they are certainly forgeries.

Yet this shameless fraud is retained in the Breviary for centuries, declared to be conducive to edification, and published and avowed before God in solemn acts of devotion which cannot be neglected without mortal sin. If the priest who says the office believes it, he is duped by his Holiness the Pope ; if he disbelieves it, he lies unto God. What a dilemma !

Further, the demoralizing and degrading tendency of this Marian devotion is very conspicuous in the certainty with which they seek to invest the legends relating to both her alleged parents, and especially her husband. The Jesuits have always been conspicuous for their attachment to St. Joseph, and their disciples often join his name with those of his wife

and her Divine Son in their devotions, invoking Jesus, Mary, Joseph in a distressing manner. Mr. McSwiney endeavours to uphold their doctrine in the following sentence :

“The implied inference from the Lord’s ‘brothers and sisters’ is a gloss of your contributor unsupported by the witness of the Divine Scriptures, flatly contradicted by Catholic prayer, which in its earliest monuments ever couples with Mary’s name the title . . . ‘always a Virgin,’ and which . . . would rouse even a Muslim audience to a violent outburst of indignation.”

I reply : 1. I attach no weight to the feelings of “Muslim,” *i.e.*, anti-Christian blasphemers. What offends them is more likely to be true than what pleases them, and Mr. McSwiney is welcome to all the support they can give him. 2. I do not admit his assertion as to Catholic prayer. It is wholly unproved, and incapable of proof, if by “Catholic” he means what has been held *always, everywhere, and by all*. 3. I neither propounded nor suggested any gloss on the words of Scripture. I stated that the men of Nazareth knew [and I might have added named] certain persons whom they called brothers and sisters of Jesus. Concerning this assertion of the Nazarenes, Mr. McSwiney says it is unsupported by the witness of the Divine Scripture. It is difficult to know what this means. The people among whom our Lord lived for nearly thirty years could need no support for their testimony that His brothers and sisters lived there too. If it means

that His brethren are nowhere else mentioned in the Divine Scriptures, that is an entire mistake, as any Concordance will show. It is the view of Mr. McSwiney which contradicts the testimony of the Nazarenes, which requires Scriptural support. But not all the learning and ingenuity of the upholders of this doctrine exercised for a thousand years have been able to produce a single text, beyond that which is cited from Ezekiel's vision of the rebuilt temple, which can have any relevancy to the subject, or any cogency in argument, unless every canon of sound interpretation is set aside.

"Scriptural proof," I said. But why do I speak, or what right have I to speak, of Scripture? "Scriptural" can mean only my sense of the Scripture, or that of the school I follow, "which is destitute of historical antecedents." I am glad my censor has spoken out at last. This little history of the people at Nazareth, like the spear of Ithuriel, has disenchanted him, and the so-called chastity of St. Joseph (Patron of the Catholic Church), and the perpetual virginity of Mary, disappear together, as the celibacy of the clergy disappeared from the view of the poor Irishman who read for the first time that Peter's wife's mother was sick of a fever. There were no historical antecedents needed for the school in which he learned that Simon must have had a wife if the Lord cured his wife's mother; or perhaps many will believe that the common-sense he inherited from Adam might be held to satisfy the requirement of historical antecedents to the full. So in the present instance.

The advocates of monkery for ages have pleaded hard for a non-natural sense of the words of the Nazarenes, in total forgetfulness of the fact that St. Paul, a contemporary witness, was as well able to distinguish between a brother and a cousin as any of themselves ; and by his testimony the historical evidence is carried as far back as possible. "But this begs the whole question." How? Let my censor answer. He cannot allow that the Scripture says what it means, or means what it most plainly says, and will have me know that there is a Pope at Rome who alone can interpret it, if I want an interpretation that is to have more than "a subjective value." I may, in taking leave of Mr. McSwiney, be permitted to inform him that I have frequently resorted to the interpreter whom he would have me put between this unintelligible book and my simple self, and the results, or some of them, may be best seen in a tabulated form. He at various times during the last sixty years has told me, *inter alia* :

"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple,"	} means {	The Bible is a very dangerous book, not to be generally used without permission and guidance.
"Add thou not unto His words, lest He reprove thee, and thou be found a liar,"	} means {	The Pope may add books to the Scripture, and thirteen articles to the Creed, and is the only teacher of the truth.
That thou shalt not make any graven image,	} means {	You may make as many as you please, or can afford.
That thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them,	} means {	You may bow down continually, but not too low.

"Not being lords over God's heritage,"	{	<i>means</i>	{	Being called our most Holy Lord, and Lord of Lords.
"Drink ye all of it" [this cup],	{	<i>means</i>	{	None of you shall touch it except the priest.
"A bishop must be the husband of one wife,"	{	<i>means</i>	{	No bishop shall have a wife at all.

Here are seven specimens of infallible and authoritative interpretations, which might be largely multiplied; but perhaps your readers may deem them sufficient, and believe that I do more honour to the Divine Scriptures by assuming that they mean what they say, than by submitting them to an interpreter who flatly contradicts them, and always with a view to his own honour and profit.

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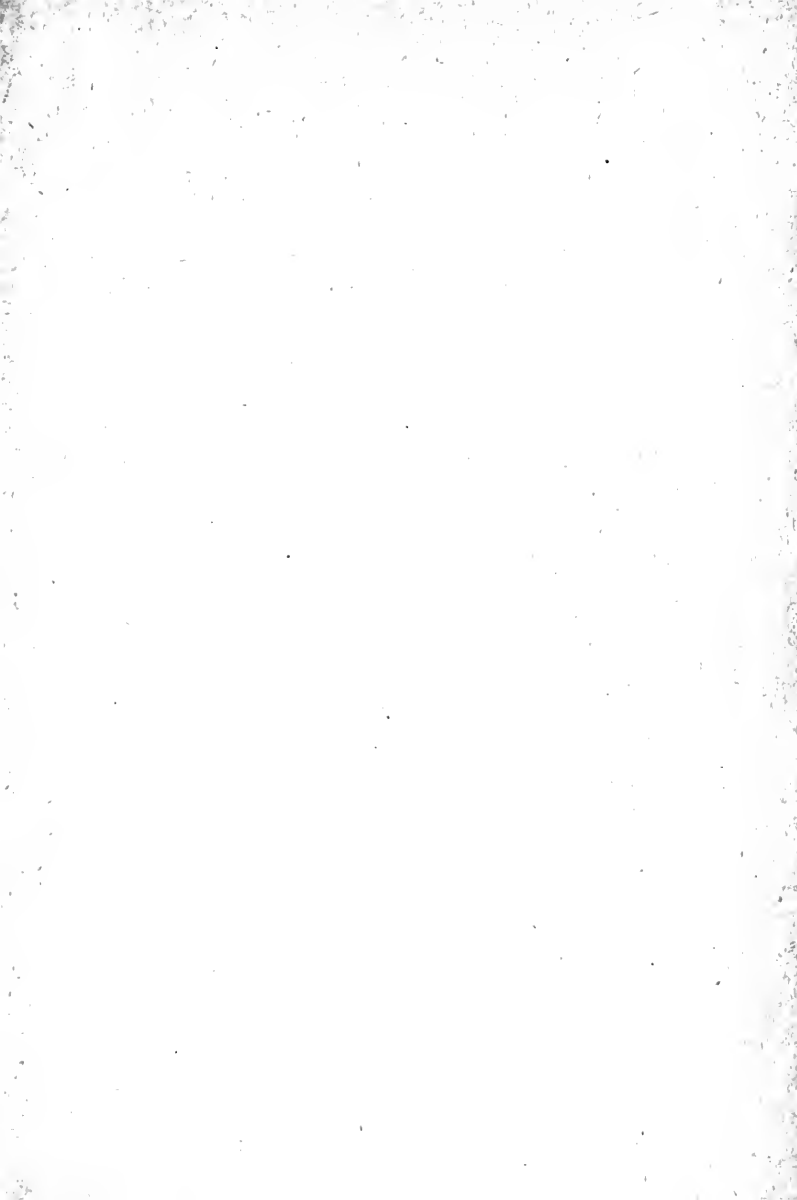
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